

10-4-1980

International Center of Florida

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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ADDRESS BY
AMBASSADOR MIKE MANSFIELD
INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF FLORIDA
MIAMI, FLORIDA
OCTOBER 4, 1980

IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE FOR MAUREEN AND ME TO BE HERE IN MIAMI AS THE INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF FLORIDA HONORS FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY AND ITS PRESIDENT, DR. GREGORY WOLFF. APPEARING BEFORE THIS IMPRESSIVE GROUP OF CONCERNED CITIZENS IS AN HONOR.

ONE OF THE THINGS THAT WILL MAKE MY JOB THIS EVENING EASIER IS YOUR INTEREST IN AND SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. THROUGH YOUR ACTIONS THIS EVENING IN HONORING A GREAT UNIVERSITY DEVOTED TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND ITS PRESIDENT YOU HAVE DEMONSTRATED THIS SUPPORT. GOVERNOR REUBEN ASKEW WHO IS WITH US HERE IS IN A SENSE HIMSELF A PROJECTION OF FLORIDA'S INTEREST IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AS HE WORKS DAILY WITH ME AND OUR FELLOW AMBASSADORS TO ATTEMPT TO KEEP THE WHEELS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE ROLLING SMOOTHLY WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS.

THOSE OF YOU WHO, UNLIKE MYSELF, HAVE ALWAYS LIVED ON THE EASTERN SEABOARD OF THE U.S. MAY HAVE BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO THINKING OF THE U.S., ITS INTERESTS AND ITS ALLIES IN

TERMS OF THE ATLANTIC OR THE HEMISPHERIC COMMUNITY. THERE IS, HOWEVER, ANOTHER COMMUNITY OF WHICH WE ARE A MEMBER, AND THAT COMMUNITY PROMISES TO HAVE AN EVEN BRIGHTER FUTURE THAN THOSE WE HAVE HITHERTO BEEN MOST CONSCIOUS OF.

I SPEAK OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE PACIFIC BASIN. MANY AMERICANS OFTEN FORGET HOW INTIMATE, DEEP AND LONG-STANDING ARE OUR ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE PACIFIC REGION. EVEN 150 YEARS AGO AMERICAN WHALERS AND SAILING MERCHANT MEN WERE A MAJOR FACTOR IN THE TRADE OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND PACIFIC TRADE WAS A SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR OWN ECONOMY. THE UNITED STATES NAVY HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE SECURITY SYSTEM OF THE PACIFIC FOR 100 YEARS. OUR NATIONAL COASTLINE ON THE PACIFIC IS FAR LONGER THAN OUR ATLANTIC COASTLINE. AND TODAY OUR TWO-WAY TRADE WITH EAST ASIA IS ~~AS~~ ^{larger than} ~~LARGER~~ ^{than} OUR COMMERCE WITH EUROPE AND IS EXPANDING MORE RAPIDLY.

TWO WAY TRADE
U.S. INVESTMENTS

THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY DOES NOT CONSIST SOLELY OF NATIONS IN EAST ASIA. SEVEN OF THE EIGHT CENTRAL AMERICAN NATIONS HAVE PACIFIC OCEAN COASTLINES. IN ADDITION, FOUR OF THE THIRTEEN SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARE ALSO PACIFIC BASIN NATIONS. THUS AREAS OF THE WORLD WITH WHICH FLORIDA AND THE REST OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH FEEL A CLOSE IDENTITY ARE A PART OF THIS DYNAMIC, INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT REGION.

WE SHOULD REMEMBER THAT WITHIN A SINGLE GENERATION WE HAVE FOUGHT THREE WARS IN THE PACIFIC. AS A RESULT, WE HAVE BEEN CALLED UPON TO RE-EXAMINE OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN THIS REGION MORE FREQUENTLY THAN IN ANY OTHER PART OF THE WORLD. EACH OF THESE REASSESSMENTS HAS LED TO THE SAME INESCAPABLE CONCLUSION -- THAT WE ARE A PACIFIC NATION WHOSE SECURITY AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY ARE INEXTRICABLY LINKED TO THE STABILITY AND GROWTH OF THIS VAST AREA.

THE UNITED STATES HAS A WIDE RANGE OF INTERESTS IN THE PACIFIC. PEACE AND STABILITY DEPEND TO A LARGE EXTENT UPON THE MAINTENANCE OF A STABLE EQUILIBRIUM OF POWER IN EAST ASIA. ECONOMIC FACTORS SUCH AS NATURAL RESOURCES, MARKETS, ENERGY, TRADE, AND INVESTMENT CLOSELY TIE TOGETHER THE UNITED STATES AND THE BURGEONING COUNTRIES OF ASIA. NOT ONLY DO WE HAVE A MAJOR INTEREST IN SUCH ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND STRATEGIC MATTERS, BUT OUR INTERESTS ALSO INCLUDE ISSUES INVOLVING DEEPLY-HELD AMERICAN VALUES, SUCH AS BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION, WHICH ARE WORLDWIDE IN SCOPE. WE MUST DEAL THEN WITH THIS MIX OF REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ISSUES, AS WELL AS WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF DEEP AND RAPID CHANGE.

THE PACIFIC BASIN, EXTENDING FROM SOUTH AND NORTH AMERICA TO ASIA, AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC, IS A PLACE WHERE THE VITAL INTERESTS OF FOUR MAJOR POWERS -- CHINA, JAPAN,

THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE UNITED STATES, -- INTERSECT. AND IT IS IN A STATE OF RAPID CHANGE WHICH WILL AFFECT ALL OF US.

-- CHINA, NEWLY EMERGED FROM INTERNAL TURMOIL AND INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION, IS PRESENTING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COOPERATION AS IT PARTICIPATES MORE FULLY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND WORKS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ITS BILLION PEOPLE.

-- JAPAN IS FACING DIFFICULT QUESTIONS ABOUT ITS FUTURE ROLE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY, THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL STRUCTURE, AND ITS OWN SELF-DEFENSE.

-- SOUTH KOREA IS ATTEMPTING TO DRAFT A NEW CONSTITUTION AND HAS RECENTLY SELECTED A NEW PRESIDENT IN A PERIOD OF GROWING INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONCERN OVER THE COURSE WHICH SOME OF ITS LEADERS ARE TAKING.

WHILE THE FIVE SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES THAT FORM THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS ARE EXPERIENCING IMPRESSIVE ECONOMIC GROWTH, SOUTHEAST ASIA VIEWS WITH CONCERN THE GROWING SOVIET INFLUENCE IN VIETNAM AND THE TRAGIC CONFLICT IN CAMBODIA. AND, GIVEN THE STRATEGIC LOCATION OF THIS REGION ON THE VITAL SEA LANES FROM THE MIDDLE EAST, WE IN THE UNITED STATES CANNOT IGNORE THE GROWING SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE OPERATING FROM VIETNAMESE BASES.

THE SMALL ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC, INCLUDING OUR OWN TRUST TERRITORIES, ARE MAKING THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE OR SELF-GOVERNING STATUS. THIS PROMISING DEVELOPMENT CARRIES

WITH IT, HOWEVER, ADDITIONAL COMPLICATIONS FOR SUCH IMPORTANT MATTERS AS FISHING RIGHTS, LAW OF THE SEA AND THE EXPLOITATION OF MINERAL RESOURCES.

I HAVE ALREADY NOTED THAT MORE U.S. TRADE TAKES PLACE ACROSS THE PACIFIC BASIN THAN ACROSS THE ATLANTIC. IN ADDITION, THE ECONOMIES OF THE NATIONS FACING THE PACIFIC ARE GROWING AT A HIGHER RATE THAN THOSE OF THE ATLANTIC BASIN NATIONS. ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THIS GROWTH IS JAPAN, A NATION BEGINING TO ASSUME A POSITION OF WORLD LEADERSHIP, AND DETERMINED TO COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH THE OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES. ALMOST UNNOTICED, JAPAN NOW HAS ENTERED INTO A RELATIONSHIP WITH US ONCE RESERVED ONLY FOR GREAT BRITAIN. IT IS A PARTNER SECOND TO NONE IN DEALING WITH A SERIES OF COMMON CONCERNS THAT EXTEND ACROSS THE NATIONAL POLICY SPECTRUM.

LET US GO DOWN THE LIST OF ISSUES. WHEN YOU SEE HOW JAPAN RANKS I THINK YOU WILL UNDERSTAND HOW I ARRIVED AT THE CONCLUSION THAT WE HAVE NO MORE IMPORTANT ALLY.

IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE THE U.S. AND JAPAN HAVE DEVELOPED THE LARGEST BILATERAL OVERSEAS TRADING RELATIONSHIP IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. BOTH NATIONS HAVE BEEN ENRICHED BY IT. WE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT JAPAN IS OUR

MOST IMPORTANT OVERSEAS MARKET. IN BUSINESS, WE DEPEND UPON JAPAN ALMOST AS MUCH AS THE JAPANESE DEPEND ON US.

THE AMERICANS AND JAPANESE WILL HAVE THEIR PROBLEMS. WE HAVE HAD DIFFICULTIES IN THE PAST WITH TEXTILES, COLOR TELEVISIONS AND STEEL. ^{today autos + N.T.T.} SOME PROBLEMS ARE INEVITABLE GIVEN THE

SIZE AND SCOPE OF OUR TRADING RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN. THE TWO-WAY TRADE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND JAPAN AMOUNTS TO \$43.6

BILLION A YEAR AND IS RISING RAPIDLY. U.S. EXPORTS TO JAPAN INCREASED BY 22 PERCENT IN 1978, ~~AND~~ 36 PERCENT IN 1979 + 28% for

THE REMARKABLE THING IS THAT A TRADING RELATIONSHIP THIS ^{the 1st 6} ^{mo. of 1980} SIZE IS HANDLED WITH SO LITTLE FRICTION, AND THAT WE ARE SO SUCCESSFUL IN OUR EFFORTS TO HEAD OFF AND RESOLVE PROBLEMS.

WE ARE STILL WORKING TO SOLVE THE REMAINING PROBLEMS, AND WE WILL.

IN THE CULTURAL AREA THERE IS A TREMENDOUS FLOW OF INFLUENTIAL VISITORS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE. JAPAN PROBABLY HAS THE WORLD'S MOST SOPHISTICATED MEDIA, WITH NATIONAL DAILIES AND TV NETWORKS LITERALLY COVERING THE COUNTRY. MORNING AND EVENING EDITIONS OF THESE DAILIES CARRY EXTENSIVE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COVERAGE AND THE NEWS FROM AND ABOUT THE USA -- ITS DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES, CULTURE AND SOCIETY -- TENDS TO PREDOMINATE. JAPAN NOW HAS THE LARGEST CORPS OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS IN WASHINGTON AND YOU WOULD BE

AMAZED TO DISCOVER HOW MUCH COVERAGE YOU ARE GETTING IN JAPANESE HOMES WITH BREAKFAST NEWSPAPERS AND THE EVENING TV PROGRAMS. I WAS PLEASED TO LEARN RECENTLY THAT THE TV SERIES "SHOGUN" HAD THE LARGEST U.S. AUDIENCES SINCE "ROOTS." I REGARD THIS AS AN INDICATION THAT WE ARE FINALLY BEGINNING TO WAKE UP TO THE FACT THAT JAPAN IS A PLACE THAT WE SHOULD KNOW MORE ABOUT.

SINCE THE EARLY DAYS OF CONTACT BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASING FLOW OF EDUCATORS AND STUDENTS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. TODAY THE FAMOUS FULBRIGHT PROGRAM IS TRULY BINATIONAL AND THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT SHARES THE COST OF ITS OPERATION WITH US. OVER FIVE THOUSAND JAPANESE AND AMERICANS HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THIS EXCHANGE PROGRAM SINCE 1951. ONE OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST PRODUCERS OF FASTENERS, TADAO YOSHIDA, PRESIDENT OF YKK IS VERY PROUD OF THE FACT THAT HE WAS ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE \$500,000 LAST YEAR TO THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM. HE IS ALSO PROUD OF THE CONTRIBUTION HE HAS MADE TO THE AMERICAN ECONOMY BY INVESTING IN THE UNITED STATES, BUILDING NEW PLANTS AND HIRING AMERICAN WORKERS. ONE OF THESE PLANTS, BY THE WAY, IS IN MACON, GEORGIA.

TODAY IN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES THERE ARE 135 SISTER-CITIES ALONG WITH FIVE SISTER-STATES, THE LARGEST NUMBER WE HAVE WITH ANY SINGLE FOREIGN NATION. THROUGH THESE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIPS THERE ARE FREQUENT EXCHANGES GOING ON

AT ALL TIMES AND I AM FREQUENTLY IMPRESSED BY THE DEEP DESIRE OF MANY JAPANESE OFFICIALS I MEET TO ESTABLISH AND FURTHER THESE SISTER-CITY ARRANGEMENTS.

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN ALSO HAVE A STRONG MUTUAL DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP BASED UPON A MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY. ^{20 yrs old} THE JAPANESE MADE A CONTRIBUTION LAST YEAR OF APPROXIMATELY ^{this year} ~~270~~ ²⁷⁰ ~~Def Exp.~~ THREE-QUARTERS OF A BILLION DOLLARS TOWARD THE UPKEEP OF U.S. FORCES IN JAPAN. THEY ARE EXPECTED TO INCREASE THIS SIGNIFICANTLY IN THIS YEAR'S BUDGET. THIS COMPARES WITH THE APPROXIMATELY \$1.1 BILLION WHICH THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT SPENDS ANNUALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE 46,000 U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL IN JAPAN. JAPAN IS IN THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZING ITS SELF DEFENSE FORCES, ESPECIALLY ITS NAVY AND AIR FORCE. THEY HAVE AGREED TO BUY UP TO 123 F-15s (OUR BEST ATTACK FIGHTER PLANE), 45 P3C ANTI-SUBMARINE PATROL PLANES AND 8 E2Cs. JOINT MILITARY EXERCISES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN STEADILY EXPANDING. THE SERVICE-TO-SERVICE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ~~the~~ JAPANESE AND AMERICAN MILITARY SERVES AS A MODEL OF COOPERATION, EVEN WHEN COMPARED TO THE TIES THAT EXIST BETWEEN OUR U.S. MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND ITS COUNTERPARTS IN WESTERN EUROPE.

ONE OF MY PURPOSES IN SPEAKING TO YOU THIS EVENING IS TO CALL TO YOUR ATTENTION HOW INTER-RELATED AND INTERDEPENDENT THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES HAVE BECOME, AND HOW WE HAVE

COME TO ADVANCE OUR INTERESTS THROUGH COOPERATION AND SUPPORT. I HAVE USED THE TERM "INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES" DELIBERATELY BECAUSE IT SYMBOLIZES BETTER THAN THE TERM "THE WESTERN NATIONS" BOTH THE UNITY AND THE DIVERSITY OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE WHICH THE U.S. NOW LEADS.

JAPAN HAS LONG PLAYED A CONSTRUCTIVE AND COOPERATIVE ROLE IN REDUCING PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL FRICTION IN THE U.S.-JAPAN BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. IN ADDITION, HOWEVER, I HAVE WITNESSED IN THE PAST YEAR INCREASING JAPANESE COOPERATION IN REDUCING PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL FRICTION IN THE MULTILATERAL RELATIONS AMONG THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES. JAPAN HAS DEVELOPED AN ACTIVIST FOREIGN POLICY WHICH BEGAN WITH AN EMPHASIS ON OPENING A DIALOGUE BETWEEN ITSELF AND THE WESTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS. IT THEN EXPANDED INTO A SERIES OF ACTIONS CONCERNING AFGHANISTAN AND IRAN WHICH HAD THE EFFECT OF BUTTRESSING THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES WHILE CONTRIBUTING TO THE COHESION OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES.

JAPAN IS UNIQUELY QUALIFIED TO PERFORM THIS TASK. IT IS ONLY SLIGHTLY MORE THAN 100 YEARS REMOVED FROM A FEUDAL PAST WHICH PLACED GREAT VALUE ON STRONG PERSONAL LOYALTY TO A LEADER. THE JAPANESE HAVE SEEN AND EXPERIENCED PROFOUND CHANGES SINCE THAT TIME. THEY HAVE REPLACED THE CONCEPT OF MILITARY DOMINATION WITH THE CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. THEY HAVE RENOUNCED WAR IN THEIR CONSTITUTION. THEY HAVE FORGED CLOSE BONDS WITH THE UNITED STATES WHICH BOTH SIDES HAVE WORKED HARD TO NURTURE. THE JAPANESE HAVE RETAINED, HOWEVER, THEIR HIGH REGARD FOR PERSONAL LOYALTY. THEY HAVE FOUND IN THE POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE OTHER GREAT INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES A COMMON CAUSE WITH WHICH THEY HAVE CLOSELY IDENTIFIED. AND IN THESE PAST MONTHS IN PARTICULAR THEY HAVE MADE THEIR COMMITMENT TO THOSE POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES AND TO U.S. LEADERSHIP UNMISTAKABLY CLEAR THROUGH AN EXAMPLE OF SUPPORT AND NATIONAL SACRIFICE. ONE OF THE BENEFITS OF THIS EFFORT HAS BEEN THAT OUR ROLE OF LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN MADE EASIER. JAPAN HAS PROVIDED AN EXAMPLE WE CAN POINT TO TO ENCOURAGE OUR OTHER ALLIES TO REMAIN FIRM.

AMONG THE ACTIONS JAPAN HAS TAKEN WHICH SERVE THIS PURPOSE ARE SUCH THINGS AS:

-- THE BOYCOTT OF THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS TO FORCE THE SOVIET UNION TO PAY A POLITICAL PRICE FOR THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

THE SAME CAN BE SAID OF JAPAN NOT APPROVING NEW OFFICIAL CREDITS TO THE SOVIET UNION AND DELAYING SEVERAL INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS PENDING WITH THE SOVIETS. FOR EXAMPLE, JAPANESE AND U.S. COMPANIES HAD NEGOTIATED A POTENTIALLY VERY PROFITABLE CONTRACT WITH THE SOVIET UNION TO CONSTRUCT A STEEL MILL.

THE JAPANESE AND UNITED STATES' COMPANIES POSTPONED THE PROJECT AFTER THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN. THE JAPANESE ALSO CANCELLED HIGH-LEVEL VISITS TO AND FROM THE SOVIET UNION, POSTPONED A NEW CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM, SUSPENDED AID TO AFGHANISTAN AND SUPPORTED THE STRENGTHENING OF COCOM.

THIS AND OTHER CASES OF JAPANESE FOREBEARANCE ON TRADE WITH THE USSR HAS PROVIDED THE U.S. WITH LEVERAGE TO USE IN ENCOURAGING OTHER ALLIES TO HOLD THE LINE. IT HAS, IN EFFECT, STRENGTHENED OUR LEADERSHIP ROLE. IF THE JAPANESE ARE PULLING THEIR WEIGHT, IT MAKES IT A LOT TOUGHER FOR OTHER NATIONS NOT TO DO LIKEWISE. AT THE SAME TIME WE KNOW THAT THE JAPANESE ARE NOT GOING TO GIVE UP TRADING OPPORTUNITIES JUST TO SEE SOMEONE ELSE STEP IN AND TAKE OVER, SO WE ARE PROMPTED TO TAKE A TOUGHTER STAND WITH OUR ALLIES IN RESPONSE.

-- THE IRAN BOYCOTT IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO EMPHASIZE THE DEGREE TO WHICH JAPAN DEPENDS ON IMPORTED RESOURCES. ^{ALMOST COMPLETELY.} ENERGY SUPPLIES ARE POSSIBLY THE MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL JAPAN'S IMPORTED RESOURCES. YET THE JAPANESE HAVE TAKEN A STRONG POSITION OPPOSING THE SEIZURE OF THE U.S. HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN. IN APRIL, THEY REFUSED TO PURCHASE IRANIAN OIL ABOVE A CERTAIN PRICE AND AS A CONSEQUENCE THE IRANIANS TOTALLY HALTED THE DELIVERY OF OIL. JAPAN HAS ^{WHICH WAS 13% OF ITS IMPORTS.} NOT PURCHASED IRANIAN OIL SINCE APRIL 21. JAPAN ALSO JOINED THE UNITED STATES IN IMPOSING SANCTIONS ON IRAN WHICH INCLUDE THE CESSATION OF ALL EXPORTS EXCEPT FOOD AND MEDICINE.

ONE OF THE POTENTIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THIS NEW INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF THE JAPANESE IS TO CREATE A LINK BETWEEN THE DYNAMIC AND INCREASINGLY MORE IMPORTANT PACIFIC BASIN COMMUNITY TO WHICH I REFERRED EARLIER AND THE GLOBAL INTERESTS WHICH WERE ONCE THE EXCLUSIVE CONCERN OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OR SO-CALLED "WESTERN ALLIANCE." JAPAN HAS BEEN AN INDUSTRIAL POWER THROUGHOUT THIS CENTURY. IT HAS NOT FIGURED IMPORTANTLY IN THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ARENA, NOT BECAUSE IT WAS UNCOMMITTED, IT HAS BEEN FIRMLY COMMITTED TO ITS ALLIANCE WITH THE U.S. FOR ALMOST 30 YEARS. ITS LACK OF POLITICAL WEIGHT HAS BEEN IN PART A PRODUCT OF ITS INACTIVITY. THE CONFLUENCE OF THE TIMES WITH THE PROPER CHEMISTRY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES HAS CALLED JAPAN TO A STILL LIMITED BUT MORE ACTIVE ROLE. THE POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS PURSUED TOWARD JAPAN OVER THE YEARS HAS FORGED STRONG BONDS OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND TRUST WITH JAPAN. THIS IS WHY JAPANESE ACTIVITY HAS BEEN SO SUPPORTIVE OF OUR INTERESTS.

THE MOST RECENT STIMULUS FOR A MORE ACTIVE JAPANESE INTERNATIONAL ROLE, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN AND A RECENT SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP ON FOUR JAPANESE ISLANDS ^{off HOKKAIDO,} WHICH THEY OCCUPIED AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II. THIS NAKED DISPLAY OF SOVIET CONTEMPT FOR THE SPIRIT OF DETENTE AND THE SENSITIVITIES OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES ENERGIZED THE PREVIOUSLY HESITANT JAPANESE. THEY HAVE

RESPONDED NOT ONLY WITH A MORE POLITICALLY ACTIVE AND CLEARLY COMMITTED FOREIGN POLICY, BUT ALSO WITH AN INCREASED DEFENSE EFFORT.

ALONG WITH THE OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES, JAPAN HAS PLANNED TO ACCELERATE ITS DEFENSE SPENDING. THE JAPANESE DEFENSE BUDGET HAS EXPANDED AT AN 8% RATE DURING THE LAST DECADE, ^{compared to - - - -} IN FY 81 IT IS PROJECTED TO EXPAND AT A 9.7% RATE. WITH EXPANDED MILITARY PERSONNEL EXPENDITURES INCLUDED THE RATE IS MORE LIKE 12%, AND IT MAY GO TO AN EVEN HIGHER RATE BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR IF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WARRANTS IT. THE CURRENTLY PROJECTED INFLATION RATE IS 5 TO 6%, WHICH MEANS A POSSIBLE REAL GROWTH OF JAPANESE DEFENSE EXPENDITURES EITHER OF 4.7 OR 7 PERCENT, DEPENDING ON THE WAY IT IS CALCULATED AND OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES. THIS IS NO SMALL ACCOMPLISHMENT FOR A NATION INHIBITED FOR YEARS BY PACIFISM AND A CONSTITUTION WHICH RENOUNCES WAR. THE JAPANESE MAINTAIN INCREASINGLY POWERFUL "SELF-DEFENSE FORCES" WHICH CANNOT BE USED IN AN OFFENSIVE ROLE, BUT WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED AN EXPANDED CAPACITY FOR DEFENDING THE SEA LANES AND STRATEGIC PASSAGES WHICH THE SOVIET NAVY MUST USE TO ENTER THE PACIFIC OCEAN. THIS FREES U.S. FORCES FOR OTHER IMPORTANT DUTIES.

JAPAN'S INCREASED EXPENDITURES AND EXPANDED INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY HAVE NOT BEEN TIED SOLELY TO DEFENSE NEEDS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN 1979 JAPAN CONTRIBUTED 65 MILLION DOLLARS TO THE UN HIGH COMMISSION FOR REFUGEES FOR ITS 1979 INDOCHINESE REFUGEE

RELIEF PROGRAM. TOTAL JAPANESE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR INDOCHINESE REFUGEE RELIEF AMOUNTED TO \$90 MILLION IN 1979 AND WILL EXPAND TO \$100 MILLION IN 1980. IN ADDITION, JAPAN WILL PROVIDE \$26 MILLION IN LOANS, GRANTS AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION TO THAILAND, WHICH HAS BORNE SO MUCH OF THE REFUGEE BURDEN.

IN THE THREE AND A HALF YEARS I HAVE BEEN IN JAPAN, I HAVE SEEN MANY WONDROUS AND HEARTENING CHANGES TAKE PLACE, ONLY SOME OF WHICH I HAVE RECOUNTED TO YOU TODAY. MANY OF THESE CHANGES ARE THE PRODUCT OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST AND HARMONY THAT HAS DEVELOPED BETWEEN OUR LEADERS AND THE JAPANESE LEADERS. WHEN THE LATE PRIME MINISTER OHIRA DIED, PRESIDENT CARTER MADE THE UNPRECEDENTED GESTURE OF GOING TO JAPAN TO EXPRESS HIS PERSONAL SENSE OF LOSS. THIS ACT HAS COME TO SYMBOLIZE FOR THE JAPANESE THE CLOSENESS OF THE TIE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND TO UNDERScore THAT THIS RELATIONSHIP DID NOT JUST HAPPEN. IT WAS CAREFULLY AND PAINSTAKINGLY CREATED. IT HAS TAKEN A GREAT DEAL OF EFFORT ON BOTH SIDES TO KEEP IT OPERATING SMOOTHLY. WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY AND GAINED MUCH IN THE PROCESS. THERE REMAINS MUCH TO DO, HOWEVER, AND FAR GREATER GAINS TO BE REALIZED, BOTH POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY.

IT IS ONLY POSSIBLE TO PURSUE AND ACHIEVE THESE GAINS, HOWEVER, IF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC APPRECIATES THE VALUE OF THE EFFORT AND SUPPORTS IT. THAT IS WHERE ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THIS, AND INSTITUTIONS AND PEOPLE LIKE THOSE WE HONOR TODAY,

HAVE A MAJOR ROLE TO PLAY. ONLY AS LONG AS YOUR SUPPORT FOR A FAR-SEEING POLICY CONTINUES CAN WE ACHIEVE THE GREATER BENEFITS THAT LIE AHEAD. I THUS COMMEND TO YOUR ATTENTION THE IMPORTANCE TO OUR NATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN AND THE LARGER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PACIFIC BASIN COMMUNITY AND URGE THAT YOU GIVE IT THE SAME SUPPORT YOU HAVE SO GENEROUSLY PROVIDED TO OTHER FORMS OF THE CAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION.

It is out there - in the Pacific & East Asia - where you have the friendly govt's, the people, the resources & the markets.

It is out there where it all is & what it's all about. It is out there where our future lies.

PRESS RELEASE

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ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR MIKE MANSFIELD
INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF FLORIDA
MIAMI, FLORIDA, OCTOBER 4, 1980

It is a great pleasure for Maureen and me to be here in Miami as the International Center of Florida honors Florida International University and its President, Dr. Gregory Wolff. Appearing before this impressive group of concerned citizens is an honor.

One of the things that will make my job this evening easier is your interest in and support for international understanding. Through your actions this evening in honoring a great university devoted to international affairs and its president you have demonstrated this support. Governor Ruebin Askew who is with us here is in a sense himself a projection of Florida's interest in foreign affairs as he works daily with me and our fellow ambassadors to attempt to keep the wheels of international trade rolling smoothly without artificial barriers.

Those of you who, unlike myself, have always lived on the Eastern seaboard of the U.S. may have become accustomed to thinking of the U.S., its interests and its allies in terms of

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the Atlantic or the hemispheric community. There is, however, another community of which we are a member, and that community promises to have an even brighter future than those we have hitherto been most conscious of.

I speak of the community of the Pacific Basin. Many Americans often forget how intimate, deep and long-standing are our associations with the Pacific region. Even 150 years ago American whalers and sailing merchant men were a major factor in the trade of the Pacific Ocean, and Pacific trade was a significant element in the development of our own economy. The United States Navy has been an important element in the security system of the Pacific for 100 years. Our national coastline on the Pacific is far longer than our Atlantic coastline. And today our two-way trade with East Asia is as large as our commerce with Europe and is expanding more rapidly.

The Pacific community does not consist solely of nations in East Asia. Seven of the eight Central American nations have Pacific Ocean coastlines. In addition, four of the thirteen South American countries are also Pacific Basin nations. Thus areas of the world with which Florida and the rest of the American South feel a close identity are a part of this dynamic, increasingly important region.

We should remember that within a single generation we have fought three wars in the Pacific. As a result, we have been called upon to re-examine our national interests and policies in this region more frequently than in any other part of the world. Each of these reassessments has led to the same inescapable conclusion -- that we are a Pacific nation whose security and economic prosperity are inextricably linked to the stability and growth of this vast area.

The United States has a wide range of interests in the Pacific. Peace and stability depend to a large extent upon the maintenance of a stable equilibrium of power in East Asia. Economic factors such as natural resources, markets, energy, trade, and investment closely tie together the United States and the burgeoning countries of Asia. Not only do we have a major interest in such economic, political, and strategic matters, but our interests also include issues involving deeply-held American values, such as basic human rights and nuclear non-proliferation, which are worldwide in scope. We must deal then with this mix of regional and global issues, as well as with the consequences of deep and rapid change.

The Pacific Basin, extending from South and North America to Asia, and the South Pacific, is a place where the vital

interests of four major powers -- China, Japan, the Soviet Union, and the United States, -- intersect. And it is in a state of rapid change which will affect all of us.

-- China, newly emerged from internal turmoil and international isolation, is presenting opportunities for economic and political cooperation as it participates more fully in the international community and works to improve the quality of life for its billion people.

-- Japan is facing difficult questions about its future role in the world economy, the international political structure, and its own self-defense.

-- South Korea is attempting to draft a new constitution and has recently selected a new President in a period of growing internal and external concern over the course which some of its leaders are taking.

While the five Southeast Asian countries that form the Association of Southeast Asian Nations are experiencing impressive economic growth, Southeast Asia views with concern the growing Soviet influence in Vietnam and the tragic conflict in Cambodia. And, given the strategic location of this region on the vital

sea lanes from the Middle East, we in the United States cannot ignore the growing Soviet naval presence operating from Vietnamese bases.

The small islands of the Pacific, including our own trust territories, are making the transition to independence or self-governing status. This promising development carries with it, however, additional complications for such important matters as fishing rights, law of the sea and the exploitation of mineral resources.

I have already noted that more U.S. trade takes place across the Pacific Basin than across the Atlantic. In addition, the economies of the nations facing the Pacific are growing at a higher rate than those of the Atlantic Basin nations. One of the leaders of this growth is Japan, a nation beginning to assume a position of world leadership, and determined to cooperate closely with the other industrialized democracies. Almost unnoticed, Japan now has entered into a relationship with us once reserved only for Great Britain. It is a partner second to none in dealing with a series of common concerns that extend across the national policy spectrum.

Let us go down the list of issues. When you see how Japan

ranks I think you will understand how I arrived at the conclusion that we have no more important ally.

In the economic sphere the U.S. and Japan have developed the largest bilateral overseas trading relationship in the history of the world. Both nations have been enriched by it. We should keep in mind that Japan is our most important overseas market. In business, we depend upon Japan almost as much as the Japanese depend on us.

The Americans and Japanese will have their problems. We have had difficulties in the past with textiles, color televisions and steel. Some problems are inevitable given the size and scope of our trading relationship with Japan. The two-way trade between the U.S. and Japan amounts to \$43.6 billion a year and is rising rapidly. U.S. exports to Japan increased by 22 percent in 1978 and 36 percent in 1979. The remarkable thing is that a trading relationship this size is handled with so little friction, and that we are so successful in our efforts to head off and resolve problems. We are still working to solve the remaining problems, and we will.

In the cultural area there is a tremendous flow of influential visitors between the two countries in every walk

of life. Japan probably has the world's most sophisticated media, with national dailies and TV networks literally covering the country. Morning and evening editions of these dailies carry extensive international news coverage and the news from and about the United States -- its domestic and foreign policies, culture and society -- tends to predominate. Japan now has the largest corps of foreign correspondents in Washington and you would be amazed to discover how much coverage you are getting in Japanese homes with breakfast newspapers and the evening TV programs. I was pleased to learn recently that the TV series "SHOGUN" had the largest U.S. audiences since "Roots." I regard this as an indication that we are finally beginning to wake up to the fact that Japan is a place that we should know more about.

Since the early days of contact between Japan and the United States there has been an increasing flow of educators and students between our two countries. Today the famous Fulbright program is truly binational and the Japanese Government shares the cost of its operation with us. Over five thousand Japanese and Americans have participated in this exchange program since 1951. One of the world's largest producers of fasteners, Tadao Yoshida, President of YKK is very proud of the fact that he was able to contribute \$500,000 last year to the Fulbright program. He is also proud of the contribution he has

made to the American economy by investing in the United States, building new plants and hiring American workers. One of these plants, by the way, is in Macon, Georgia.

Today in Japan and the United States there are 135 sister-cities along with five sister-states, the largest number we have with any single foreign nation. Through these special relationships there are frequent exchanges going on at all times and I am frequently impressed by the deep desire of many Japanese officials I meet to establish and further these sister-city arrangements.

The United States and Japan also have a strong mutual defense relationship based upon a mutual security treaty. The Japanese made a contribution last year of approximately three-quarters of a billion dollars toward the upkeep of U.S. forces in Japan. They are expected to increase this significantly in this year's budget. This compares with the approximately \$1.1 billion which the Defense Department spends annually in support of the 46,000 U.S. military personnel in Japan. Japan is in the process of modernizing its Self Defense Forces, especially its Navy and Air Force. They have agreed to buy up to 123 F-15s (our best attack fighter plane), 45 P3C anti-submarine patrol planes and 8 E2Cs. Joint military exercises between our two countries have been steadily expanding. The service-to-service

relationship between Japanese and American military serves as a model of cooperation, even when compared to the ties that exist between our U.S. military establishment and its counterparts in Western Europe.

One of my purposes in speaking to you this evening is to call to your attention how inter-related and interdependent the industrialized democracies have become, and how we have come to advance our interests through cooperation and support. I have used the term "industrialized democracies" deliberately because it symbolizes better than the term "the Western nations" both the unity and the diversity of the grand alliance which the U.S. now leads.

Japan has long played a constructive and cooperative role in reducing problems and potential friction in the U.S.-Japan bilateral relationship. In addition, however, I have witnessed in the past year increasing Japanese cooperation in reducing problems and potential friction in the multilateral relations among the industrialized democracies. Japan has developed an activist foreign policy which began with an emphasis on opening a dialogue between itself and the Western European nations. It then expanded into a series of actions concerning Afghanistan and Iran which had the effect of buttressing the leadership role

of the United States while contributing to the cohesion of the industrialized democracies.

Japan is uniquely qualified to perform this task. It is only slightly more than 100 years removed from a feudal past which placed great value on strong personal loyalty to a leader. The Japanese have seen and experienced profound changes since that time. They have replaced the concept of military domination with the concept of peaceful international cooperation. They have renounced war in their Constitution. They have forged close bonds with the United States which both sides have worked hard to nurture. The Japanese have retained, however, their high regard for personal loyalty. They have found in the policies and objectives of the United States and the other great industrialized democracies a common cause with which they have closely identified. And in these past months in particular they have made their commitment to those policies and objectives and to U.S. leadership unmistakably clear through an example of support and national sacrifice. One of the benefits of this effort has been that our role of leadership has been made easier. Japan has provided an example we can point to encourage our other allies to remain firm.

Among the actions Japan has taken which serve this purpose are such things as:

-- The boycott of the Moscow Olympics to force the Soviet Union to pay a political price for the invasion of Afghanistan.

The same can be said of Japan not approving new official credits to the Soviet Union and delaying several industrial projects pending with the Soviets. For example, Japanese and U.S. companies had negotiated a potentially very profitable contract with the Soviet Union to construct a steel mill. The Japanese and United States' companies postponed the project after the invasion of Afghanistan. The Japanese also cancelled high-level visits to and from the Soviet Union, postponed a new cultural exchange program, suspended aid to Afghanistan and supported the strengthening of COCOM.

This and other cases of Japanese forbearance on trade with the USSR has provided the U.S. with leverage to use in encouraging other allies to hold the line. It has, in effect, strengthened our leadership role. If the Japanese are pulling their weight, it makes it a lot tougher for other nations not to do likewise. At the same time we know that the Japanese are not going to give up trading opportunities just to see someone else step in and take over, so we are prompted to take a tougher stand with our allies in response.

-- The Iran boycott is another example. It is not necessary to emphasize the degree to which Japan depends on imported resources. Energy supplies are possibly the most important of all Japan's imported resources. Yet the Japanese have taken a strong position opposing the seizure of the U.S. hostages in Tehran. In April, they refused to purchase Iranian oil above a certain price and as a consequence the Iranians totally halted the delivery of oil. Japan has not purchased Iranian oil since April 21. Japan also joined the United States in imposing sanctions on Iran which include the cessation of all exports except food and medicine.

One of the potential consequences of this new international political activity on the part of the Japanese is to create a link between the dynamic and increasingly more important Pacific Basin community to which I referred earlier and the global interests which were once the exclusive concern of the Atlantic Community or so-called "Western Alliance." Japan has been an industrial power throughout this century. It has not figured importantly in the international political arena, not because it was uncommitted, it has been firmly committed to its alliance with the U.S. for almost 30 years. Its lack of political weight has been in part a product of its inactivity. The confluence of the times with the proper chemistry between Japan and the other

industrialized democracies has called Japan to a still limited but more active role. The policy of friendship which the United States has pursued toward Japan over the years has forged strong bonds of mutual interest and trust with Japan. This is why Japanese activity has been so supportive of our interests.

The most recent stimulus for a more active Japanese international role, however, has been the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and a recent Soviet military buildup on four Japanese islands which they occupied at the end of World War II. This naked display of Soviet contempt for the spirit of detente and the sensitivities of the industrialized democracies energized the previously hesitant Japanese. They have responded not only with a more politically active and clearly committed foreign policy, but also with an increased defense effort.

Along with the other industrialized democracies, Japan has planned to accelerate its defense spending. The Japanese defense budget has expanded at an 8% rate during the last decade. In FY 81 it is projected to expand at a 9.7% rate. With expanded military personnel expenditures included the rate is more like 12%, and it may go to an even higher rate before the end of the year if the international situation

warrants it. The currently projected inflation rate is 5 to 6%, which means a possible real growth of Japanese defense expenditures either of 4.7 or 7 percent, depending on the way it is calculated and other circumstances. This is no small accomplishment for a nation inhibited for years by pacifism and a constitution which renounces war. The Japanese maintain increasingly powerful "self-defense forces" which cannot be used in an offensive role, but which have developed an expanded capacity for defending the sea lanes and strategic passages which the Soviet Navy must use to enter the Pacific Ocean. This frees U.S. forces for other important duties.

Japan's increased expenditures and expanded international activity have not been tied solely to defense needs. For example, in 1979 Japan contributed 65 million dollars to the U.N. High Commission for Refugees for its 1979 Indochinese refugee relief program. Total Japanese contributions for Indochinese refugee relief amounted to \$90 million in 1979 and will expand to \$100 million in 1980. In addition, Japan will provide \$26 million in loans, grants and economic cooperation to Thailand, which has borne so much of the refugee burden.

In the three and a half years I have been in Japan, I have seen many wondrous and heartening changes take place, only some

of which I have recounted to you today. Many of these changes are the product of the relationship of trust and harmony that has developed between our leaders and the Japanese leaders. When the late Prime Minister Ohira died, President Carter made the unprecedented gesture of going to Japan to express his personal sense of loss. This act has come to symbolize for the Japanese the closeness of the tie between the two countries and to underscore that this relationship did not just happen. It was carefully and painstakingly created. It has taken a great deal of effort on both sides to keep it operating smoothly. We have come a long way and gained much in the process. There remains much to do, however, and far greater gains to be realized, both politically and economically.

It is only possible to pursue and achieve these gains, however, if the American public appreciates the value of the effort and supports it. That is where organizations like this, and institutions and people like those we honor today, have a major role to play. Only as long as your support for a far-seeing policy continues can we achieve the greater benefits that lie ahead. I thus commend to your attention the importance to our nation of the relationship with Japan and the larger relationship with the Pacific Basin community

and urge that you give it the same support you have so generously provided to other forms of the cause of international understanding and cooperation.

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